THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Development of Social Idealism in Modern Japan

A PART OF THE DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY

By

RAYMOND KAKUICHI OSHIMO

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RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL FORCES AS FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL IDEALISM

The growth of social idealism in modern Japan must be largely attributed either directly or indirectly to the influence of Christianity, for these concepts of justice, freedom, liberty, and of the equal worth of all men regardless of birth and position which are basic in the Christian conception of persons were the moulding elements for the development and growth of social thought in Japan. The forces which led finally to the destruction of the Tokugawa Shogumate were not in themselves responsible for this progress. It is highly probable, although it is useless to speculate, that had it not been for the influence of Christian ideals, Japan would have kept her feudalism. The power of the government, to be sure, was transferred to the Emperor, but there was no evidence to show that social idealism, as we understand the term, would have developed were it not for the influence of Western ideals. It is therefore safe to say that Christianity as embodied in Western culture was the central factor in the development of social idealism in Japan.

When the Restoration leaders overthrew the old government and returned the sovereign power to the Emperor, they were confronted with the problems of organizing a strong central government, of building a powerful army and navy, of placing the nation upon a sound economic footing and to utilize capable leaders irrespective of lineage and family status. They clearly saw the impossibility of retaining the old feudal structure instituted by the old government, neither they dared to promote themselves to the position of feudal lords so that they might control the power. The only alternative they saw was to destroy the entire feudal system. The new conceptions of individuality and of state furnished by Western thought made it possible for them to advance in the new path. Only after twenty years when the new ideal threatened the solidarity of the nation that she attempted to crush it. The attempt seemed successful, but the ideal planted in the hearts of the people could not be smothered for it later became once more the driving motive for the agitation for the reconstruction of industrial society and of the government. It is true that economic oppression and suffering were the occasion for the revived interest in the ideal, but here again, one must agree that the ideals of justice, of equality, of infinite worth

of all personality, of freedom were the dynamic motives. The development of social idealism in Japan therefore can not be discussed without describing the vital part Christian ideals played in this process.

To claim that Western ideals were alone responsible for this progress is perhaps a wrong way of stating the truth. The process was possible because there already existed a situation which invited these ideals. It is, therefore, more proper to say that a reciprocal relation existed between them. The situation and the condition welcomed the ideals, and in turn, the ideals moulded Japan in the new form. This reciprocal relationship is clearly seen between this process and Christianity.

Christianity entered Japan soon after the Restoration, and together with other ideals of Utilitarianism, French Liberalism, American Democracy, it furnished the new way of advance. The leaders were endeavoring to free the nation from the old choas, and Christian ideals seemed to them the means. Because it preached equality of all men before God and the inherent worth of all indiduals irrespective of position, status and race, it caught the imagination of many idealists and leaders whose minds were bent towards these ideas. It was very natural then that many young men who were filled with idealism and the vision of a great future should accept Christianity as their ideal. Christianity and liberalism were synonymous to many. To them socialism and Christianity were identical. To become a Christian was to become a liberal and progressive. Although many had not become professed followers of Christ, they at least endorsed and accepted the ideas. Glen Fisher says:

> "The early missionaries wisely focused their efforts upon the winning and training of leaders, and it is a striking fact that the men who have led the church and Christian education from the beginning were almost all won in the early years by men and women who with rare wisdom and effacement invested their energies in small bands of disciples. There were five such bands which have become historical, at Kumamoto, Sapporo, Yokohame, Osaka and Hirosaki"[1].

It is very true that had it not been for the untiring and patient efforts of these early missionaries, these young men who became

1. Glen Fisher, **Creative Forces in Japan**, p. 152.

leaders of liberal Japan might never have realized their dreams, but let us not forget that before they met these devoted and self-sacrificing missionaries, in their hearts was already a burning passion to lead their country and to save her from the clutches of old traditions. It would be more appropriate to say that these young men found the missionaries rather than the missionaries found them. To these different localities where young men of great visions gathered, came the missionaries with their social ideals which caught their imaginations.

Through them social idealism saw a rapid growth. Out of the Kumamoto Band came Rev. Kozo Kozaki, Rev. Kanamori, Dr. Danjo Ebina and many others. Dr. Ebina's name must be mentioned in relation to the development of social ideals, for through his preaching, he won many University students, especially those of the Tokio Imperial University. Among them may be mentioned Dr. Sakuzo Yoshino, Professor of the Imperial University, who was the leader of democratic ideals during the Great War; Bunji Suzuki, President of the Japan Federation of Labor; Dr. Uchigasaki, a liberal leader in the Diet, and others.

From the Sapporo Band under the influence of Dr. W. S. Clark were found Dr. Nitobe, the well-known lecturer and author, Rev. Kanzo Uchimura, an independent Christian preacher and thinker, and Dr. Sato, now President of the Hokkaido Imperial University. Dr. Yoitsu Honda, Dr. K. Ibuka, educator and leader in all cooperative enterprises, and Rev. M. Oshikawa were found in the Yokohama group. Many others less known have contributed a great deal to the progress of social idealism.

Christianity, when first introduced into Japan, was thus conceived as a movement. It was not a separate ideal distinct from the general awakening of the Restoration movement. It started with several groups of eager youths who were interested in the re-construction of Japan and who gathered around missionaries who presented to them the ideal of Jesus as the way out of the situation. To these youths, Christianity was not a set of dogmas and ecclesiasticism. It was a cause to serve, a mission to be realized. It was a loyalty to Jesus.. It was an acceptance of his way of life, the way of love as being basic and that regardless of all social and cultural injustices men are free to make love effective. It was the movement to evoke in the Japanese the same moral attitude as those

which Jesus himself embodied. It was a cause for the re-construction of Japan according to the way of Jesus.

Only as we understand the Christian movement in such a light that we can account for the many heroic deeds of the early Christians in Japan. It was a movement centered around the loyalty to Jesus, in whom they saw a moral power and the way to save Japan. It was a part of the general movement for the salvation of Japan, of course, variously interpreted, but essentially, for the freedom and the development of personality. To be sure, it was a groping one, rather vague and in-articulate, never-the-less, it was a movement inbedded in the basic conception of Christianity. The degree of its articulateness, the extent to which it becomes the compelling drive of the Japanese people, will measure the progress of the movement.

The future of Christianity will largely depend upon how her leaders will conceive it. If they interpret it in terms of dogma and ecclesiasticism, it will lose its vitality which it had in the past. If it is identified with the general movement of the Kingdom of God, of the increase enhancement of personalities, it will re-gain its power and momentum. There are signs at present to show that it will increasingly be identified with this great movement which the Western world has committed itself. Forces are now operating which point to this direction. This re-newed interest in social problems, especially among the younger generation of the Christian group, is very noticeable at the present time. One cannot deny the influence of the time upon them. The interest in social problems, their solution by the people of Japan in general has no doubt led them to take an interest in social gospel. This group of young men who are interested in the social gospel are not merely interested in social service as such, but believe that society must first be saved and that social situations must be Christianized before individuals can be saved. Thus they are greatly interested in the problems of social structure. They have a tendency to despise and slight those who are interested only in social service, for they think that these men are not dealing with the fundamental problems of society. In this connection, Toyohiko Kagawa's name must be mentioned. He is interpreted as a leader of the new movement.

His name has been mentioned several times in connection with the various labor and political organizations. It is difficult to mention social organizations in which he has not had some connection.

His interest in industrial relations has been so keen that the Government has for a time misunderstood him as a dangerous individual. His message to Dr. Myers of Kobe will reveal his attitude toward these problems:

"My chief work is the building and the rebuilding of the human temple. It is the Carpenter Jesus alone who is able to do this work. I am helper and servant to Him. The material for this building is Life, Labor and Liberty.

"Hitherto, religious teachers have confined their efforts too much to doctrine and emotion, and men of the world have emphasized matter and money. They must all learn to worship God through life, not merely through doctrine or emotion or matter or money. I am strongly opposed to the Marxian materialistic conception of history. Economics and religion are not separate but one. To live a life is economics and it is religion. Without God there is no economics and there is no life, for God is Life Eternal.

"The action of life is Labor; therefore man must enjoy labor. I am opposed to the system which makes a mere 'human machine' of labor and laborers. Labor is not a commodity to be bought and sold, it is a gift of God to be respected and honored. But labor without God is useless effort, a treadmill that brings man to no goal. Labor expended, for instance, at a brewery or in making munitions at the arsenal, is destructive, and does not accord with God's purpose of Life for mankind. Unemployment is not in accord with God's will, for we must get a realization of life through labor. The exploitation of labor for selfish purposes is one of the worst evils. Paul says, 'If any will not work, neither let him eat.'

"The third material in the Human Temple is Liberty. This does not mean equality. God has given to every man a different degree of ability. If a man is allowed to realize and employ all the powers that God has given him, that is liberty. No man has a right to hinder liberty in any other man. The principle of equality lies in the fact that God has given life equally to all. Men must have liberty to be educated, liberty to marry, liberty to vote, liberty to organize, liberty to migrate, liberty to think and speak, liberty to worship.

"Just now, Life, Labor and Liberty—all three are being destroyed. Class hatred and revolution are being emphasized from the side of the oppressed. The leaders, preaching revolution, promise bread. The real demand is not for bread alone, but for Life,

Labor and Liberty. Violence and revolution will never bring these to men. Souls must be redeemed first. The wounds have pierced too deeply into the souls of men. Without regeneration and rejuvenation of the souls of men from within, men can never see the Kingdom of God. We cannot redeem ourselves; we must believe in the power of God to redeem. The work of Christ is to supply our deficiency, and the mission of the followers of Christ is to go out in the power of the Spirit of God to save the suffering, armed, not with a sword, but with love. Christians must glorify God in the flesh as Christ glorified God in the flesh. This is the building of the Human Temple and the Gospel of the Incarnation. To live a Life is a fine art, it is to glorify God in our bodies. This is where art and religion meet. Economics is a part of art; it is the art of making life enjoyable and happy. Art without God is nothing. To live a religious life, a man cannot withdraw to some desert cave or mountain temple. He must bear his cross in the flesh and live a life of service among men. That is the art of art, the economics of economics, and the religion of religion. That is the Gospel of Christ."[1]

Many students and young Christians saw in his work new inspiration for social service and interests. They believed that from Japan a new religion would come practicing Christian ideals and principles in all social problems—labor, industrial, racial and political. I believe this new movement started by Toyohiko Kagawa will grow in influence and will exert a great deal towards the development of social progress. For convenience further discussion shall be continued under two heads, women and youth movements.

When Japan was moved by the influence of English and French thought during the early Meiji Era, many liberal thinkers advocated the freedom and liberation of women. Many articles were written advocating their equality to men in their personal worth. Especially, at the time when individualism was at its highest popularity, the liberation of women from the yoke of feudalism and old oppression was set forth by all liberalists and progressives as an ideal to be realized as soon as possible. Although woman's movements were for a time at a standstill due to the growth of nationalism and the reaction against western ideas, with the development of the new forces since the Great War, they have started again with greater enthusiasm.

1. Glen Fisher, **Creative Forces in Japan**, pp. 228-229.

At first these advanced thoughts were limited to a very small portion of the population. Only a very small group, perhaps not worthy of any attention at first, was interested in a movement to elevate the standards of women and their position. However, many people have been forced to realize how important was any movement for social progress without education of women. This realization has inspired not only women leaders, but also men leaders, to increase their efforts to educate women with liberal and social ideals.

The early developments of women's movements have been entirely due to moral and religious ideals. From a different standpoint, two women about the same time started organizations to liberate the women of Japan. Miss Yajima, a Christian, started the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Japan, while Miss Okumura, a devoted Buddhist, started the Aikoku Fujinkai (Patriotic Women's Club). These two organizations were essentially religious in nature. The interest in social improvement came from their religious beliefs. Thus we may say that they were in the main religious institutions interested in social work. They paved the way for other organizations to follow to improve the condition of women.

About 1911 a group of young women socialists collaborated and published a magazine called, 'Seito'. It exerted considerable influence in fostering social ideals among the women of Japan, based upon the motto, self liberation of the womanhood of Japan, the respect of personality, which is the realization of the spirit of heavenly given womanhood. The following translation will give us the spirit of the group:

"For sometime we have heard the voice of the liberation of womanhood. However what is it? We believe the term freedom has been understood in its wrong sense. To be liberated from external oppressions, to receive higher education, to have economic freedom, to receive equal political rights, to be free from family obligations and live an independent life cannot be called the true liberation of women. They may help to attain the real liberation. However, they are only a way, a policy and not the goal. They are not the ideal."[1]

Ten years after the founding of the 'Seito', a new Women's Association was formed in 1919, with the following manifesto:

"The time to unite for the realization of the duties and rights of women has arrived. Now is the time for women to aim not alone

1. **Shakai Mondai Koza** ("Waga Kuni no Fujin Undo" by Umeo Oku) Vol. 5, p. 4.

for self improvement, but by the strong union of strength to elevate and improve their social position; to obtain rights as women and as mothers; to cooperate with men in the movement to reform society."[2]

The formation of the Association was after the Great War when the world was sick of war and bloodshed, and cries for social reconstruction were rampant everywhere. No doubt the Association to a great extent reverberated the tendencies of the time. Unlike the Seito which was idealistic, and sometimes destructive, the new organization was constructive. The following were their activities:

"1. Higher education for women, co-educational system in the primary grades, political rights for women, abolishment of laws not beneficial to the welfare of women, movement to protect motherhood.

"2. To make connection with local women's clubs, and to form a women's federation to work for the general welfare of women.

"3. To establish experimental clubs to deal with special women's problems.

"4. To give speeches at various places concerning women's labor, living, and other social problems.

"5. To establish schools for the cultural improvement of women workers, to publish women's labor publications and to establish a strong and health union of women laborers."[1]

The new Association on the surface seemed to be interested only in practical social problems, but in reality, these were only the means of obtaining a greater goal. The Association was not a mere reform club, but a group of women leaders endeavoring to enhance the spirit of womanhood and of motherhood. Their spirit is well embodied in the life of Ellen Kay, whom they took as their ideal of womanhood and motherhood. Even in their demands for equal political rights, the 'Joseidomei', their official organ says, "from the standpoint of a man, equality between men and women was advocated, but we have gone a step further, that is from the standpoint of women, we demand the rights of women, the rights necessary in actual existence for the complete fulfilment of the duties of motherhood."

Recently women's movements have progressed more on economic lines. With increasing numbers of women going into industrial life, their interest has tended more toward the economic elevation and welfare rather than the pure ideal of womanhood. At present the total number of women engaged in industries is about

2. Ibid, p. 6.

3,600,000 of which 2,700,000 are engaged in manual and hard labor. Those classed as professional and mental workers number some 920,000. It is not to be wondered then that women's movements since the Great Earthquake drifted from purely idealistic and abstract dreams to the more practical problems, from a movement merely to obtain equal rights to movements dealing with problems of existence. Their movement divided into two main divisions, namely the vocational and industrial interests on one hand; and the educational on the other. The economic and industrial interests are mingled with political interests. This is logical, for government is viewed by them as a machinery to improve their economic life.

One of the oldest women's professional workers' club was the Women's Clercal Workers which was formed in 1920. The Association was formed somewhat on the basis of that of American women's clubs. The club had for its purpose the general welfare of the group, the cultivation of friendship, the organization of dormitories and employment bureaus. Although the Association had many capable officials, it never became very strong for the officials left the control and direction to a small group of men promoters. The Association therefore suffered a natural death. Several attempts have been made since to form a new organization among typists and office workers, but they were never realized.

About this time a league of professional workers was founded. The League was more of a publicity agent than a league of women who were interested in their practical vocational problems. It intended to build public opinion in favor of improving their positions, to arouse the sleeping consciousness of the women to fight against the double standards of the time. The League is still continuing its good work.

Other women's associations are the Federation of Professional Workers, the Federation of Women Students, Women Teachers' Association, the Women's department of the International Labor Association. The Women's Teachers' Association being mainly interested in the problems of teachers cannot be strictly called an association working for the welfare of women. However, because of its higher mental level, a large number of married women are in it, and indirectly the Association aids in building public opinion toward the uplifting of womanhood. The Federation of Women Students is mainly interested in the movement for higher education for women, and the opening of the doors of the Imperial Universities

to women students. The Women's Labor Association and the Women's department of the International Labor Association are similar in their purpose and activity. The latter organization made an extensive study of the conditions of night work in spinning factories, and conditions of women workers in coal mines. They passed the following resolution at a recent meeting: "We deem it necessary to prohibit women workers in mines from the standpoint of humanity, from the necessity of protecting motherhood, and also in line with the tendencies of the various countries, in spite of the sacrifices these industries may be forced to make to bring about the necessary reforms."[1]

The importance of the women's labor movement is readily realized when we consider the fact that women comprise about sixty per cent of the total industrial workers in Japan, and that by furnishing cheap labor they are replacing the more skilled and costly labor of men. Because of this importance, many attempts have been made to organize them but so far none of them has succeeded. There are many reasons for this. Various labor unions have established women's departments to interest them. At present the total membership of women belonging to these labor organizations is about 14,000. Whether they can be organized into a strong union in the near future is very doubtful. It will be a long time before they will learn to cooperate and unite.

The permanent establishment of their movement to obtain equal political rights started about the time when many attempts were made to reform the Peace Preservation Law which prohibited any gathering of women for political purposes. It was initiated by the New Women's Association at the time when the extension of manhood suffrage was before the public attention. According to the following six reasons they endeavored to obtain political rights:

"1. To prohibit political organization and affiliation on the ground of being a woman is unreasonable.

"2. In endeavoring to build and advance a healthy and sound civilization according to the ideals and feelings of womanhood and motherhood, the lack of political knowledge will hinder its realization.

"3. Those women, especially, engaged in industrial life need political knowledge; the lack of it will cause untold evil and inconveniences.

1. **Shakai Mondai Koza**, Vol. 5, p. 15.

"4. The present argument is that women are politically ignorant, yet to deny them the machinery necessary to give them this knowledge is inconsistent.

"5. The movement to obtain woman's political rights is the result of the Great War and has world recognition; in Japan the demand of universal suffrage is acclaimed, and not to establish a law to such realization is working against the trend of the time.

"6. To prohibit women in local political meetings when they are at liberty to read newspapers and magazines dealing with political news and theories and when they are allowed to sit in the visitors' chairs of both houses has no meaning at all."[1]

The freedom to participate in political activities was granted to women at the 45th session in March, 1922, after their continued agitation for several years. Having gained this freedom to participate, they continued their efforts through a new organization, The Federation of Women Voters, with a slogan "without women suffrage there is no real universal suffrage." The following are some of their specific claims to extend their political privileges:

"1. To improve laws and the social system which discriminates again women.

"2. To fulfill the rights and love of motherhood.

"3. To establish the respect of womanhood.

"4. To solve economic problems which drive the proletariat women from their homes.

"5. To endeavor to reform the conditions of working women.

"6. To protect pregnant women.

"7. To make fundamental reforms of women's education.

"8. To improve health conditions of the people.

"9. To prevent wars and bring peace.

"10. To prevent child-labor and to protect those children who need the care of mothers and teachers."[1]

The vast majority of women as in every country are conservative, indifferent to these movements. Especially in a country like Japan where women were suppressed for many years and were taught submission to husbands and to be faithful to their famliy, political and labor movements are not very popular. The movements are being initiated and propagated by a small group of progressive and liberal

1. Ibid., p. 21.

1. Ibid., p. 21.

woman leaders. Whether they will obtain political rights in the very near future remains to be seen.

The final problem of all these movements will come to the question of women's education. To educate women to desire these privileges and to prepare them to receive their responsibilities, higher education becomes very necessary. The Great Earthquake, especially, revealed the futility of the past education of women in time of crisis. It revealed the grim truth that women should be prepared to live an independent life whenever it is necessary. Realizing this truth, cries for higher education, for professional and vocational training were heard everywhere. Of the many public universities and professional schools, women are allowed to enter on an equal basis with men only at the Tokyo Music Conservatory.

To improve this condition a society to promote higher education for women was formed in 1923. The society aims at equal opportunity for higher education both professional and liberal. It has succeeded after many efforts in gaining permission for women students in the Literary departments of both the Tohoku and Kyushu Imperial Universities. Others only allow women students as listeners.

The National Women's Educational Society was formed recently to improve the educational condition of women. In their manifesto adopted at their recent national convention the following is found:

"The higher education of the past has been limited to boys. Such unspeakable discrimination not only ignores the rights of women, but hinders greatly our national cultural programs, the industrial prosperity, the reforms of standards of living, the progress of better foreign relations. Our general convention asks for the immediate reform of the illogical and unjust system, by establishing higher educational institutions of learning and by allowing women students in the already existing higher schools which are open only to men, and we also plead for public sympathy for the establishment of private higher institutions."[1]

It will be some time before the womanhood of Japan will be greatly enlightened; however, with rapid progress of educational institutions for their benefit, with new forces which are not only affecting men but also women, their liberal enlightenment will not wait very long. They will become an increasing factor in the devel-

1. Ibid., p. 25.

opment of liberalism in Japan, and I am convinced that their influense shall be for the good.

The "Suiheisha" or the Water Levelling Society must be mentioned for it has a very close connection with the ever growing social idealism of Japan. The cry of democracy, freedom, justice, of economic and political liberation, echoed and re-echoed into the depths of their hearts and it surged forth again into greater vitality and strength for the advocacy of freedom for personal development and enhancement. The yearning hearts of the new womanhood of Japan, the cry of economic and political justice of the common people, the hope of idealists reverberated into their crushed souls to enliven them into new hopes and courage. Caught by the advancing trend of the time, they too helped to increase the momentum and force of the on-going liberal currency. Their power and strength are the inspiration of the enslaved class hoping and dreaming for a free and creative world in which all personalities have the fullest liberty to grow and ennoble themselves.

"March 3, 1921, is the memorable day of the forming of the National Water Levelling Society. It marked the liberation of our three million despised comrades. It calls us back to the past when the enslaved Israelites of Egypt by the pillar of clouds by day and the pillar of fire by night, hoping to free themselves from their enslavement, advanced through the wilderness of Paran. One year has elapsed since the forming of our Society. The second conference of the National Levelling Society of March 3, the day of our memory, has come again. Although the clouds of the wilderness continue and the promised land of Canaan is still far away, yet our goal is courageously being approached. History is a road of freedom. Six thousand communities, three million comrades band ourselves under the emblem of the braided crown of thorns. Ours is not merely that of love and sympathy. Ours is much deeper than that. It is nothing more than the strength and light which have been brewed in the progressing process of human society."[1]

Such was their faith and hope.

The embryo which later grew into the national movement was started by three youths of a small village some thirty years ago. A student of the Nara Commercial School, a son of a rather well-to-do "Eta" or an outcast possessed by the passion to free his class, organized a society to attain his dreams. A son of a Buddhist priest of

1. Shakai Mondai Koza, p. 11-12, Vol. 1.

the village sympathizing with the wrongs and inhuman treatment of the class became a devoted friend of the only "Eta" student of the school. Another youth who had been through the "hard-knocks" of life, joined the two others in the effort to realize their "day-dreams". Renting a small house, a small group of these youths banded themselves by oath, lived together by weaving ropes and slippers for their livelihood, and patiently waited for the liberation of their class. It was M. Sano's thesis, "The Liberation of the Special Community" which gave them new spirit and courage and showed them the way of their future course. The thesis showed the necessity of a strong union and cooperation with the economically enslaved common workers. The three youths coming to Kyoto won several leaders who have been more or less connected with various movements to liberate the class, by their enthusiasm and yearning hopes. Thus in the Kyoto Public Auditorium the first inaugural ceremony of the Society was held March 13, 1921, with Umekichi Minami as the President and the three youths, K. Komai, M. Seiko, S. Sakamoto with three others as the Executive Committee.

Shichiro Kurisu, one of the leaders of the movement, in speaking of the spirit of their movement says the following:

"We, the three million people, though being Japanese are called Eta (dirty) or Shinheimin (newly liberated class), or Tokushumin (special class), we are being despised, oppressed, scorned and treated as undesirable by others as if we were dirty articles, and we have resigned ourselves hopelessly. However, recently many of our thinking comrades have awakened. Are we not the same Japanese nationals, are we not the same race; is there any reason why we should be treated as if we were dumb beasts? Our leaders have come to such a realization. We did not have courage. By our realization and decision we can do away with these "special" and beastly treatments. Our leaders have come to have such faith. However, nothing is more urgent than our union in a strong group. A community must unite into one, a village into one, a prefecture into one, until we, the three million members, consolidate into one body. 'Shuiheisha' means the levelling of this world, of this society like the surface of the water. It is the spirit which desires to build a happy and beautiful society in which there can be no class distinction, rich or poor, or high or low, in which all the nationals, and all races can associate and mingle with freedom and equality as human beings of highest creation and of highest respect. We do

not depend upon the government or upon great men. We will do it by ourselves. We will fight to the very end against those who despise and oppress us."[1]

With such spirit and faith the three millions of the oppressed class banded themselves into one national society to liberate themselves. The following is their Principle:

"1. We, the members of the special community, by our own actions aim at our absolute liberation.

"2. We, the members of the special community, demand from society the absolute economical and vocational freedom.

"3. We, realizing the fundamental truth of humanity, set forth to the highest perfection of the human race.

"Manifesto: Members of the special community scattered throughout the whole country unite! Comrades who have been oppressed for a long period! The various policies and movements which were initiated by many persons in the last half century have brought no satisfactory results because everything which was done by them and ourselves only defiled the sacredness of the human race. When we think of these movements which have rather degraded our comrades, we cannot help but initiate a movement for a union of those who truly respect and revere the human race for self liberation.

"Comrades! Our ancestors were admirers and performers of freedom and equality. They were industrial martyrs, and victims of the vile and sordid system. For the reward of skinning animal hides, they have been stripped of their living skin; for the wages of piercing the hearts of animals, their warm and tender hearts have been pierced; even in the despised black nightmare, spit upon and sneered at, the proud blood of the race was still there without being clogged up. That's it. We have received this blood and have faced the time when man wanted to become God. The time has come when the victims will cast off their bonds. The time has come when the martyrs will receive the benediction of the braided crown of thorns. The time has come when we as 'Eta' can be proud."[1]

The Central Executive Board soon after the first convention issued an official magazine, "Suihei" (Water Level), engaged in propagating its aims, held public lectures and endeavored to aid the rapid growth of the local associations. The leaders requested the

1. Ibid., p. 5, Vo. 1.

1. Ibid, pp. 7, 8, Vol. 1.

authorities of the East and West Hongwanji Temples to stop collecting funds among their class for they believed that economic enslavement was social bondage. They also believed that these Temples were hindrances to their welfare, for thse religious bodies cared nothing for their welfare, and even showed discrimination in their religious services for the class. The movement saw a remarkable progress. Before the year was over, about sixty local associations were organized throughout the country. With its rapid growth, numerous riots and conflicts took place between them and the other classes. These conflicts rather intensified their desire to organize and further consolidate their strength. It is said that over one thousand riots and conflicts occurred during 1923 and about three hundred local associations were formed.

The first period of the movement was the time of the general awakening of their class consciousness. It was the time when they were inspired to liberate themselves as free and equal individuals, a time when their yearnings and hopes welled up into a national movement. However, as time passed they awoke from the effects of their high spiritual hopes and ideals, and they began to follow a more practical course by organizing themselves into economic union and joining hands with the other exploited peoples of society. Their hopes progressed beyond the ideal of equal treatment. They saw that their liberation was in their economic freedom. At the third national conference, this economic consciousness clearly showed itself. The delegates from Osaka trying to win over other delegates to their views presented the following explanation:

"The members of the Suiheisha are practically all proletariats. To liberate ourselves it is necessary to join hands with the various exploited classes. Historically, the members of the special communities were the exploited class, but even under this new capitalistic system, we are the exploited class. The present society is the conflict between the exploited and the exploiters. Therefore, to build a society in which there is no class distinction, no exploitation, no oppression, the weak and the manual workers and farmers must band together into a close and strong union. The Suiheisha in its first period was a movement of spiritual liberation, but it must enter into a second period of economic liberation."[1]

The movement is now in its third period, the struggle for political freedom. They have organized a political party of their

1. Ibid., pp. 20, 21, Vol. 1.

own to foster political ideals and the knowledge of their class. Realizing the strength of joining hands with other proletariats, they have cast their lot with them both in their economic and political activities.

Their purpose, common to the other explointed classes, will bring them into closer unity with them, and as time passes, especially in cities, discrimination against them will lessen. Their problem will then become like those of the other workers and the exploited classes.

Let us now turn our attention to student and youth movements which, I believe, not only truly reflect social trends of the time, but which will bring about a final victory of liberalism in Japan. No nation will long remain the same when its thinking people have changed. There used to be a saying in America that as the ministers think so the nation. This phrase well characterizes the truth that intellectual leaders will decide the thinking of any nation. The bureaucratic leaders of Japan knew this truth too well. The Imperial Universities were founded to produce leaders who were to be trained in the nationalistic ideals. The majority of the present government officials are former graduates of the Imperial University. For some time to come, the political and governmental leaders will be men trained in the old school, but the situation is rapidly changing.

The Imperial University is no longer the home of intellectual conservatism. Its professors are now the most active members of societies which are openly carrying on propaganda by public lectures and magazine articles for democratic ideals. The new generation of students studying under this liberal atmosphere, will naturally be influenced towards social idealism. In fact, many leaders of labor and industrial movements are recent graduates of the Imperial University. There will be rapid progress of liberalism through this new generation of youths who are trained in the new school.

The movement began about 1917, just prior to the close of the Great War. With the outbreak of the War, industry made a tremendous leap. With it also the consciousness of the working masses was aroused which resulted in the rapid formation of labor unions. It was during this general awakening of the masses that the democratic wave was at its peak of popularity. At the head of it was Dr. S. Yoshino of the Tokyo Imperial University and Dr. I. Oyama, formerly Professor of Waseda University, both of whom were not

only eloquent and powerful speakers, but were forceful writers. Through the pages of many magazines and books, especially of the "Chuokoron" their advocacy of democratic ideals and condemnation of militarism and bureaucratic absolutism caught the attention of the general public. The leading newspaper, the Osaka Asahi, became the champion of democratic ideals. The reactionaries, under the cry "democracy is the destruction of national characteristics" banded themselves under the "Ronin Kai" and fought against the rapid spread of democracy. It directed its force and attack against Mr. R. Murayama, the president of the Osaka Asahi News and succeeded in driving out the whole editorial staff. It challenged Dr. Yoshino to a public debate which created a national sensation. The debate which was held before a packed audience of students and laborers, ended in an overwhelming victory of Dr. Yoshino. "Victory of democracy" became the pass-word of the students. The debate led to the formation of the "Reimei-kai" (Enlightenment Club) with such leaders as Dr. Nitobe, Professors Oyama, Yoshino and Mr. Imai who is called the father of universal suffrage, Tokuzo Fukuda, Professor of the University of Commerce, and other eminent progressive and liberal leaders of the period.

The following are their principles:

"1. To enhance the special mission of Japan in the progress of world civilization by making clear theoretically the national foundation of Japan.

"2. To destroy the bigoted ideas which retard the world's progressive trends.

"3. To join the post-war new enlightenment of the world and to further the security and safety of national existence."[1]

The trend of the times awoke the student consciousness. The first student organization to foster such world ideals was the "Shinjinkai" (New Men's Club) of the Tokyo Imperial University with Messrs. Akamatsu and Miyazaki as student leaders both of whom upon their graduation joined the ranks of labor leaders. The following translation shows their spirit:

"This club was organized December, 1918, by the law students of the Tokyo Imperial University who harbored democratic ideals, with the following principles:

"1. We endeavor to further the enlightening tendency towards liberating humanity.

"2. We follow the reconstruction movement of Japan."[1]

1. Nippon Shakai Shugi Undoshi, Vol. 4. No. 1. p. 140.

The "Shinjinkai" not only published a monthly magazine called the "Democracy" to arouse the students' ideals, but in the interest of organizing the students of all Japan, its leading members made a nation tour in 1921, out of which came a Federation of seven high schools, formation of clubs at the Kyoto Imperial University and the Doshisha University. It also initiated a movement to obtain student self-government and cooperative stores.

Through the initiative of Professors Takahashi and Kitazawa of the Waseda University, Minjin Domei was organized; but due to some misunderstanding among the leaders, the group splitted into two divisions, each organizing its own club, the Isshin-kai and the Kensetsu-kai. These different associations organized a national federation known as the "Seinen Bunka Domei (Young Men's Cultural Federation), with the following manifesto:

"It is our spiritual yearning which aims at the building of a world of freedom and justice and to liberate humanity now under the shackles of evil and unrighteousness.

"1. The Federation shall be organized upon truth.

"2. The Federation aims at the liberation of all humanity.

"3. The Federation aims at the just reconstruction of society."[1]

One can easily detect the high spiritual ideals of the students. They visioned a new world in which all of humanity was liberated, and all individuals were allowed to contribute to the welfare of society without being hampered. They painted a liberated world with no race conflict, no industrial struggles, no exploited people, politically and industrially. These students reflected the visions and ideals of society in their extremes. Thus they moved according to the trends of social thinking. When democracy was at its peak, they too were drunk with it. When syndicalism was the dominant thought of society, they too accepted syndicalism as if it were the only panacea of evils. When Marxism caught the intellectual thought of the Japanese scholars, it too became their ideal. They carried around a translation of Marx's Capital as a Bible. To them nothing was more true than Marxism. Marx's principle at last seemed to solve the riddle of the world's problems. From one thought to another these students progressed. They joined hands with the working classes in their fight against the capitalists. They formed secret organizations to propagate communistic and bolshevistic ideas. Many of them endangered their lives by joining these secret organi-

1. Ibid., p. 143.

zations. In 1925, a group of some thirty students were imprisoned for their secret communistic activities. There seemed to be a chivalry, a sacrifice, and martyrdom for the sake of humanity. They contributed much to the development of social thought by their intellectual endorsement as well as by their vigor and vitality. Interest was not created among the intellectual classes alone, but also among the proletariat youth. It was this general awakening which aroused the consciousness of the oppressed class to revolt against their exploitation and suppression.

Since the time of the Restoration, we may say then, that Japan, due to the influence of Western culture, has committed herself to the noble task of organizing all of her social forces for the development and the enrichment of personalities. She has committed herself to the cause to which Western people have identified themselves since the time of Jesus. Before this time, her ideal was feudalistic. The two salient virtues which were greatly valued by the Japanese people were filial piety and loyalty, but with the acceptance of Western ideals, her cause has become one with that of the West, that is for the progressive realization of personalities. This has been the basic element of Western civilization, and it is becoming rapidly fundamental in the life of the Japanese people.

Perhaps some of my Japanese friends would deny such a claim, but it is my conviction that the ideal of the movement started by the Restoration leaders, although they hardly realized in these terms, will increasingly become the dominant ideal of the people of Japan. Those of you who have followed me through the discussion of this thesis will hardly fail to see this point. Many movements, are there in Japan. They seem to be independent of each other, and they are called by different names such as the Student movement, Peasant movement, Cooperative movement, Woman's movement, Proletariat movement, Christian movement, but the one underlying element which relates them to each other is the ideal of the increasing enrichment of all personalities. This process is inevitable. In spite of the many obstacles, the process will not only continue, but will gain momentum. Japan is thought to be a very conservative nation, and if one bases his argument upon the outward forms without knowing the tremendous energy beneath them he is right. However, once the obstacles are removed, the process will be rapid and it would not be surprising to see in the near future another great stride similar to the one taken at the time of the Restoration.